Williff Y-6 (ca. 1931) 1964 NT14 Plateau Tumans NT14
Havasupai

it must have been something significant, for the heart was the seat of the emotions, the symbol of life. The story was so startlingly akin to Old Testament accounts that it helped me to realise how many years of progress these people must in some miraculous way achieve before they could take their place in twentieth-century civilisation.

Another medicine man fell by Navaho's hand, accused of sending his shamanistic spirit to make the people sick while posing as their healer. And the people, believing their chief was protecting them from evil, applauded.

Navaho was their Solomon. While I was with them they were still speaking with warm approval of the justice meted out to the young Apache man who escaped and sought sanctuary with the Havasupai while his tribe was being taken to San Carlos by government officials. Navaho heard the man's plea, then told him that by deserting he might cause his people to endure additional hardship at the hands of the white man. Therefore, he must return to his tribe. When the man replied that he would never return, Navaho, without speaking a word, struck the Apache dead. This was the type of justice the Havasupai understood. A tribesman did not seek safety at the expense of his own people.

Navaho was "Master of the House" to the Havasupai. He ruled with an iron will, but more justly—according to their sense of justice—than the people had ever been ruled before. He enforced the old customs and traditions: obedience to their gods, the *tabolwa*, full granaries, the dance, the hunt, complete self-sufficiency of his people with no interference from the white man. At his death, the tribe lost its last great leader, a man respected for his strength and courage by both white men and Indians.

But his brutal handling of the medicine men had had a devastating effect. Every shaman in the village remembered and acted with caution. Each knew that a persuasive tongue could turn the people against a healer, that death was the penalty. No medicine man in the tribe, therefore, was willing to treat Jasper. The people, in a state of indecision, would have turned from healing by incanta-

231 Chickapanagie. This includes the south banks of the
423 Grand Canyon towards the Little Colorado River and including the Mystic Spring, the Bright Angel, the Grand View, Hance's old and the Red Canyon Trails, in the neighborhood of which, for centuries, the Havasupais have been descending. Indeed, it was the Havasupais who made the "Indian Gardens" that are so charming a feature of the Bright Angel Trail. Sinyela has the upper part of Havasu Canyon reaching to Bass's camp at the Caves, named by the Havasupais Wai-a-mel. Uta and Waluthama have the lower portion of Havasu Canyon, around to the head of Beaver Canyon and all the territory on the south side as far as Hack-a-tai-a—the Colorado River.

Thus there are no disputes arising over the wrongful
577 pasturage of stock, as each Indian regards himself as
578 bound by the strictest ties of honor not to deviate from these established and long-observed boundaries.

As I have before stated, the Havasupais at one time
181 owned the whole of the Kohonino Forest region and
423 also the trails into Hack-a-tai-a (the Grand Canyon). From time immemorial they have hunted from Havasu (Cataract) Canyon to the Little Colorado, and, of course, have had access to the water pockets, or rock tanks, in which rain water accumulates all along this dry and springless region. In talking with one of the In-
648 dians recently he asked me if the Great Father at Washington could do nothing for him and his people so that they might still continue to use the water pockets of their ancestral hunting-ground. He said, "You sabe Ha-ha-poo-ha (Rain Tank) and Ha-wai-i-tha-qual-ga (Rowe's Well) and Ha-ga-tha-wa-di-a (the water hole near Hance's Camp) and Ha-ha-i-ga-sa-jul-ga (Red

Possible Sources of Ambivalence

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Ambivalence may have been produced in former times by certain inconsistent or conflicting cultural patterns involving virtually all females. Two such patterns were the following: (1) the ideal of feminine reticence, aloofness, and shy restraint in the presence of unrelated tribesmen in contrast with real, but clandestine, premarital and extramarital sexual alliances, and (2) personal father-daughter relationships in contrast with husband-wife relationships as exemplified on a parental level.

Seeming contraries in the value system existed in the first instance in that a girl must appear circumaspect to an extreme, pretending as a sign of virginity not to associate with males outside her immediate kinship group, while sub rosa associations of the most intimate kind was permitted her, and in fact little importance was attached to the virginity of a bride. In the second instance, a daughter's relationship with her father was in marked contrast to that of a wife with her husband as described below. Emotional dichotomy originating in such contradictory orientations might conceivably culminate in some overt expression denoting inner conflict or insecurity feelings at the time of marriage when a woman initially faced realization of her own individual assumption of the adult feminine role.

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In a girl's training and throughout her adult life, conformity to the ideal feminine behavior pattern was stressed. It is said that in former times both girls and mature women were so shy that they would withdraw to the hogan or conceal themselves nearby when an unrelated male visited men of their family. Spier (1928, 328) wrote that it was "not proper for a woman to entertain a man alone during the absence of her husband, although it is permissible to have many men and children about. Nor should she walk about with any other man, not even a brother or father." Present informants concur that it was improper for a man to stop in a camp where a woman was alone, even if he had traveled a long distance. Reportedly, a woman feared being alone thus with an unrelated male and therefore would ask him to return later. (Such fear probably was grounded, at least in part, on possible suspicion or jealousy of the husband in question.)

Spier (1928, 328) noted further that women did not "ordinarily ride about the village, even when accompanying their husbands, as this would cause adverse comment. They would be cautioned against the possibility of being molested" (presumably, when riding alone).

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Women, when gathering food or otherwise employed in or near their camp areas on the plateau or Esplanade, kept a sharp lookout for raiding parties from enemy tribes, hastening to conceal themselves at a hint of danger. Death or abduction was the usual fate of a captured woman. Such raids, occurring with an undetermined frequency, posed a particular threat to females in the absence of protecting males. Havasupai of both sexes

usually eluded injury or capture by remaining undetected or taking flight. The example of alertness and caution by adult women no doubt inspired similar behavior in small girls, and later fostered real fear as understanding of the danger was acquired. 562 183 609

In summary, it has been pointed out that comparative isolation of family camp groups under aboriginal conditions probably contributed to the shyness of young people of both sexes. A girl, in addition to being guarded and taught alertness against enemy attack, was closely chaperoned by related females and was cautioned to keep the proper social distance from both unrelated and related males. 562 834 183

A girl maturing in such circumstances might be expected to remain chaste. However, the culture permitted sub rosa sexual license in certain circumstances. Thus, normative premarital and covert sexual behavior was clearly contrary to the ideal which a young woman must overtly exemplify. 183 562 577

A second source of emotional conflict for a girl might have been the father-daughter relationship in its contrast with that of husband and wife, as she was able to observe it between her own parents. Parental indulgence of small children was the rule. Daughters, almost as much as sons, were the objects of loving attention from a father, although girls assumed responsibility earlier than boys and so were taught discipline and submission to authority at an earlier age. While punishment was sometimes harsh (one woman reported that her father tore her earlobe with a severe jerk as a penalty for playing too long by the river when she had been sent after a bucket of water), severe measures were infrequently used and an affectionate paternal attitude generally was reflected in patience and verbal admonition or mild and infrequent discipline. 183 562 593 [861]

By contrast, however, a girl saw her mother yield or lose under force or threat of force when conflict between the parents arose. A wife had almost no alternative to submission for, if she fought back, she would suffer more grievously and in the end would lose to superior male strength, or, if she ran away to her relatives, they would send her back after a brief cooling off period. The easiest course for a wife was acceptance of male dominance and whatever treatment might be accorded her. (As one old man phrased it, "The man, he always win. If the wife fight back, it don't do her no good; she just get hit more.")

A father's position as family head and protector undoubtedly inspired his daughter's respect, while his affection and indulgence probably provided a sense of physical and emotional security during her youth. However, identification with her mother in the role of wife could easily have caused a girl, even one in love, to shrink from a prospective marriage. [581]